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ABSTRACT

The approach used in two different public school systems to change white attitudes was discussed and evaluated at two conferences for public school educators in Maryland. One program discussed was conducted for a large suburban system with more than 160,000 students enrolled. The system had had many racial incidents over the years and was expecting a court ordered school desegregation plan to go into effect. The second school system discussed was a rural system with 17,000 students. It was just beginning to enroll blacks as the city's suburbs pushed outward. The model used in both these school systems consists of six stages. Stages in the model cover the following topics: (1) cultural and racial differences, (2) racism and how it operates, (3) examination of racial attitudes, (4) source of racial attitudes, (5) what can be done about behavior, and (6) behavior change. The importance of using black and white consultants or group leaders is discussed. The key to the whole model is that it is geared to results rather than intentions. Also, it focuses on long term outcomes. (Author/AM)

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STRATEGIES AND TECHNIQUES EDUCATORS CAN USE TO HELP COMBAT INSTITUTIONAL RACISM

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SUMMARY

A model is presented which is aimed primarily at changing whites or white oriented institutions, or in essence those who control the bulk of the education system. The model is seen as progressive in that it appears important to work through the various stages in order, so as to build upon each earlier stage. The model is demonstrated by its use at two conferences for public school educators in Maryland. Stages in the model are: I. Cultural and Racial Differences, II. Racism and How It Operates, III. Examining Racial Attitudes, IV. Sources of Racial Attitudes, V. Behavior: What Can Be Done?, VI. Behavior: How Can It Be Done? Details and specific outcomes at each stage are discussed. Also the importance of using black and white consultants or group leaders and when to use each is discussed. The key to the whole model is that it is geared to results rather than intentions and focuses on long term outcomes. Further details available in Racism in American education: A model for change (Sedlacek and Brooks, 1976).

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Recently much evidence has been presented that great problems exist in the educational system that appear directly related to racial/cultural variables. They span a great range, from the self-fulfilling prophecies based on expectations of poor performance by teachers in elementary and secondary schools (Rosenthal and Jacobson, 1968; Rubovitz and Maehr, 1973), to discriminatory admissions policies in higher education (Sedlacek, 1977; Sedlacek and Webster, in press), and racism encountered by minorities in graduate and professional schools (Carrington and Sedlacek, 1977; D'Costa, et al., 1974).

As many interracial problems and issues are focused in the general society and in the education system, increasing numbers of counselors, educators, personnel workers, etc. (black and white) are being called upon to provide assistance. The problems are often hard to pinpoint, difficult to work with, and highly emotional. The Cultural Study Center at the University of Maryland, College Park, has developed an approach to working with racism which may prove useful to others attempting change in this area (Sedlacek, 1974; Sedlacek and Brooks, 1976). The approach or model has been developed over several years and is based on research and direct experience in a number of types and levels of educational settings, including elementary, secondary, college, university and professional schools. The model has also been utilized in non-educational settings such as hospitals, community agencies, governmental and business organizations. The model is aimed primarily at changing whites or white oriented institutions, or in essence, those who control the bulk of the educational system. The model is also seen as progressive in that it appears important to work through the various stages in order, so as to build upon each earlier stage. Generally, it is considered necessary to go through the stages whether the time involved in the program is an hour or several years.

In order to demonstrate the model, the approach used in two different school systems will be discussed and evaluated. One program was conducted for a large suburban system with more than 160,000 students enrolled. The system had had many racial incidents and problems over the years, and was expecting a court-ordered school desegregation plan to go into effect shortly after the conference was held. A two-day conference for 91 key central office staff and superivisors was held.

The second conference, lasting 2-1/2 days, was held for 36 principals, vice-principals and some central office staff of a small, primarily rural system with 17,000 students. This system was just beginning to have increasing numbers of blacks enrolled in their schools as a city's suburbs pushed outward. The system had had the beginnings of relatively mild confrontations between blacks and whites.

The model was used in both settings and consisted of six stages. The general results and conclusions of the stages are discussed, along with any notable differences between the conferences. The points listed in each stage often were brought out by consultants amid heated discussion and controversey. Both conferences consisted of working in small groups of 10-15,with an occasional general session. Consultants were black and white, male and female, and chosen for their diversity of style, but extensive training on the model. and the explicit goals of each session insured common goals. Participants remained in their respective small groups and the consultants rotated each half day or whole day. It was hoped that this tactic would maintain some group identity for participants, but give them exposure to a variety of consultants. The model was discussed with a planning group from each system prior to the conference and the large system surveyed participants before the conference, and their specific problems were covered at the appropriate points in the model. Participants at both conferences

were overwhelmingly white, with 5 blacks of 91 at one and one black of 36 at the other.

Stage I - Cultural and Racial Differences

A. Points made by Consultants and Participants. (1) Cultural and racial differences exist: they should be openly discussed and understood by all. (2) Differences can and should be approached positively, in and out of the classroom. (3) Black expressions of racial and cultural identity are necessary and healthy for blacks and for the rest of society. (4) Standard English is a white, middle class concept, and teachers and pupils should be allowed cultural expression through language in the classroom. (5) Many blacks have questionable environmental support for education and are not likely to be motivated by traditional methods. (6) Most white teachers are not prepared by background or training to work with most of the black students they encounter. (7) Blacks may act differently, and generally more negatively, to authority in a society many feel has oppressed them. (8) Traditional threats from authority figures or informing parents may do more harm than good. (9) Understanding cultural and racial differences and designing educational experiences and reinforcing in that context is crucial to any education.

B. Evaluation and Discussion. Many participants had difficulty in dealing with differnces as positive concepts. The epithet, "I treat everyone exactly alike," was heard often. Criticism from participants included not getting enough specific content, and the style of some of the consultants. Sessions varied in content covered and participant reactions all the way from feeling relevant content was covered to feeling the session was a waste of time. Upon later reflection, the consultants felt this was as far as some participants were willing to

go. That is, feeling that if they had gotten a few "tips" on how to deal with blacks, they could solve their problems.

Participants were very heterogeneous, with some having knowledge of racial issues and others who had never before dealt with the topic. This was particularly true in the smaller conference, where participants from schools with no black students viewed the session much like a class in medieval history. That is, it was of academic interest, but they felt it of no practical use to them.

It should be noted that many written materials on this topic were given to participants but were little read. This points up a classic problem in this area often noted by librarians, black curriculum specialists, etc.: the materials are available but often sit on library shelves. Without training, most teachers are unlikely to feel comfortable with or oriented to experimenting with new materials or curricula. The single most useful pamphlet the writers have found in initially raising the issue of cultural and racial differences is by Noar (1972).

Stage II - How Racism Operates

A. Points Made by Consultants and Participants. (1) Individual racism is action taken by one individual toward another which results in negative outcomes because the other person is identified with a certain group. The group may be racial, cultural, sexual, ideological, etc. (2) Institutional racism is the action taken by a social system or institution which results in negative outcomes for members of a certain group or groups. (3) The definitions of racism are behavioral in that results, not intentions, are important. Most racism is unknowing or unintnetional. (4) Some examples of racism in County schools:

a. Segregated system with blacks in pockets, resulting in fewer facilities, fewer teachers, and less money spent per pupil on black students.

b. Because supervisors are less prepared and perhaps less comfortable

in dealing with teachers and problems in primarily black schools, fewer visits may be made to these schools.

c. There are few blacks in supervisory or central staff positions in County schools.

d. Most parts of County school curricula are oriented toward white, middle class children.

e. Curriculum materials more relevant to blacks and other minorities are available, but are used relatively little by teachers.

f. Most County teachers have little or no preparation for teaching black students or in presenting material more relevant to them.

g. Lack of funds and manpower committed by County schools to work on race relations.

(5) Since most of the society is run by and for whites, racism is primarily a white problem. Unless whites are able to change individually and collectively through institutions, white racism is likely to remain. (6) Racism is analogous to alcoholism in that if we say, "Well, maybe I drink a little too much occasionally," we are not likely to begin to deal with our problem. However, if we understand and admit our alcoholism, we can begin to work on it. We are all racists and should begin to work on our problem.

B. Evaluation and Discussion. While the concept of institutional racism was difficult for many participants to understand, the consultants generally reported some progress in participants' understanding how County policy and every day practices of teachers, administrators, and policy makers could be detrimental to blacks, regardless of intentions. The groups were heterogeneous in many respects, and many participants were still not much involved in the discussion. Irrelevancy, negativism and preaching were criticisms made by participants.

Many participants were still operating at a comfortable intellectual level,

but some began to get very defensive, perhaps in anticipation of what was to come. Several points in the development of the model should be made here. The first session was aimed at picking up participants where they were and getting them involved. If they could see that differences can be approached positively and then be made to see that the white society creates some negative differences and that it is whites who must work on their problem, the whole orientation and outlook will be much different for most participants. An important shift in consultant emphasis and dependency is also made. An attempt is made to shift participants from the typical posture of "needing" a black to come in and tell them what to do, to one of "it's your problem, individually and collectively," and white consultants may be more valuable in many areas because of their knowledge of white society. This is a difficult switch to make, but if this hurdle is not passed, the writers feel little will be accomplished in the conference. Participants will compete for the favor of the black consultant rather than to seek more indpendence for their views and actions, and they may not come to terms with the issue. The black consultant can play an effective helping role by maintaining a low emotional level. The participants no doubt will look for crutches, and these should be minimized.

Stage III - Examining Racial Attitudes

A. Procedures and Results. Participants completed the Situational Attitude Scale (SAS) anonymously. The SAS was designed to measure the attitudes of whites toward blacks in ten personal or social situations. Two forms of the SAS were created: Form A makes no mention of race; Form B is identical to Form A except that the word "black" was inserted into each situation in Form B. Half the participants completed Form A and the other half, Form B. Forms were distributed randomly so that any average or mean differences found in responses to the forms could be attributed to the word "black." Table 1 shows SAS instructions and situations. Responses of black participants were not analyzed.

Results indicated generally negative attitudes toward blacks, with a strong negative reaction to Situation V (Your best friend has just become engaged to a black person). Respondents tended to feel sad, intolerable, insulted, angered, fearful, hopeless, unexcited, wrong and disgusting in their reactions to the situation. Respondents tended to feel positive toward blacks in Situations III (It is evening and a black man appears at your door saying he is selling magazines) and VI (You are stopped for speeding by a black policeman). Respondents tended to feel receptive, excited, glad and pleased toward the magazine salesman, and calm, friendly, cooperative, pleasant and accepting toward the policeman. These results have been interpreted in other studies (Sedlacek and Brooks, 1970, 1972) as indicating that these seemingly positive attitudes reflect the feeling that "service roles" more distant from close contact are appropriate for blacks.[1]

A summary of the feelings of a hypothetical typical respondent would be "It's OK for blacks to sell me magazines or be policemen, but they had better not come much closer, or in particular, get engaged to any of my friends."

B. Evaluation and Discussion. Questionnaires were scored over night and a summary of results was presented to each participant and discussed. While some participants discussed and analyzed the results with interest, many steadfastly refused to consider them or their implications. A variety of defensive reactions, attacks on the SAS and the conference, etc., took place, and this session was probably the most emotional of the conference. These reactions were generally expected by the consultants, who were trying to make the point that whites may have more negative attitudes toward blacks than they thought they did. The biggest problem with the session was the danger of opening an emotionally difficult area and being unable to handle adequately the feelings generated.

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[1] Copies of means, standard deviations and t tests available from the writers on request.

Stage IV - Sources of Racial Attitudes

A. Points Made by Consultants and Participants. (1) We all have racial stereotypes that determine how we feel and act toward other races. The SAS pointed this out. (2) Textbooks help perpetuate racial stereotypes. (3) The nature of prejudice and racism should be taught at all educational levels. This is particularly crucial for young whites in that they are not likely to be able to avoid becoming racists without help. (4) Prejudice and racism as well as black culturally relevant content should be an integral part of the regular curriculum and not isolated as "black history week," etc. (5) One way racial stereotypes are institutionalized and hurt all pupils is teachers, black and white, having lower expectations for black students. (6) Since we have defined racism and seen our own attitudes are negative, let's assume that racism exists and see what we can do about it.

B. Evaluation and Discussion. Sessions III and IV ran together and many participants were still dealing with feelings developed from the SAS. Some participants were ready to move on, others were not.

Here again was another place where having black and white consultants proved valuable. A white consultant initially presented the SAS results and received a great deal of hostility and anger. A black consultant then wrapped up the attitude session and left them with final thoughts. This technique served several useful purposes. First, it allowed participants to openly vent more of their feelings at the white consultant, rather than to internalize them. They were more ready to listen after this process, so a black consultant could make some good points. If the black consultant goes first, or covers the entire session, there tends to be an internalization of hostility and frustration and many participants are not able to move on. Addittionally, it is difficult and unpleasant for some black consultants to deal with highly emotionally based racial attitudes in a group of whites.

The technique of role playing specific educational situations involving blacks and whites was used in the smaller conference with much apparent success. This group was less able to discuss their racial attitudes prior to role playing.

Stage V - Behavior: What Can Be Done?

A. Goals Stated by Participants. A great many goals were stated in both conferences, but only the more salient and generalizable will be noted here. (1) To investigate the whole concept of teacher quotas, positive and negative effects, and develop a fair policy. (2) To suggest changes in curricula from K-12: special emphasis was on language; integrated social studies versus black studies; instructional materials and massive inservice with teachers working with curriculum and instructional materials. (3) To plan some effective communication techniques as schools are newly integrated. (4) To document the proportions of discipline cases as they relate to blacks and whites. (5) To review the use of test scores. (6) To review classifications of central staff personnel and analyze the salary structure. (7) To find ways of involving the community. (8) To make sure there is a followup from this conference. (9) Proper techniques for teaching English to black youngsters. (10) More information on racism. (11) Central administration support for positions taken to reduce or eliminate racism. (12) Effective recruitment of black administrators and teachers. (13) We must find appropriate standards to judge and develop programs for blacks in a positive way. (14) Experience with and understanding of race relations should be requireed for hiring and promotion. (15) Black artists and scholars should be included in the curricula.

B. Evaluation and Discussion. Participants varied considerably in their willingness to state goals. Some refused to recognize that racism exists in the schools in the system, and would not state goals. However, most were able to develop some goals and were glad to move from the more emotional attitude sessions.

One important shift which should take place by this time in the conferences is that most or all the points made should come from participants rather than

from consultants. This can be used as an intermediate criterion of the success of the conference.

Stage VI - Behavior: How Can It Be Done?

A. Points Made by Participants. (1) Set goals - long and short term. (2) Be behavioral - results not intentions count. (3) Learn what reinforcements will work in the system; read *Rules for radicals* (Alinsky, 1971), and *Beyond freedom and dignity* (Skinner, 1971). (4) Facilitate communication through separate monthly newsletters for elementary and secondary students, staff and teachers, listing human relations news, achievements, events, etc. (5) Establish a coordinating board of student representatives with all minorities represented and with some responsibility for policy making. (6) Encourage students to express their cultural and racial identities through clubs and groups (e.g., black student union). (7) Schools should provide regular and periodic extracurricular activities of special interest to blacks. (8) The professional educators in County schools should take stands on race-related issues and work actively for change. (9) Whites must initiate and "carry the ball" in working on their own racism. Waiting for blacks to tell whites what to do is a "cop out." (10) Busing is a "red herring copout." If the system is committed to ending racial injustice in the schools, it either finds a better way (which it has not done) or it buses now. (11) Actively recruit blacks at all levels; the institutionalized practices which keep blacks from applying must be overcome. (12) Hire only blacks or other minorities for all positions until the imbalance is corrected. (13) Set up team or cluster teaching situations to aid the white teachers in black schools. (14) Have regular staff development in race relations over a long and sustained period. (15) Positive racial experiences and race relations training must be provided for students at all levels of the educational system. (16) Require the school system budget to list how much money is being spent on eliminating racism and the percentage increase from the previous year. A great deal more money must be committed if any

change is to take place.

B. Evaluation and Discussion. At this point, most participants were able to contribute strategies to the sesssion. Due to the large number, not all are reported above. Stages V and VI tended to blend together but their independence is less important than ending the conference on an action oriented, "here's what to do," note. Ideally, Stage V results in the stating of goals and Stage VI results in a listing of strategies to accomplish those goals. The entire model is geared to maximize these sessions. The philosophy is that the first four stages are needed to educate and prepare participants to state much better and clearer goals and strategies. It is the observation of the writers that most groups or individuals are not ready to discuss strategy without more background on the topic.

Overall Evaluation and Discusssion of Conferences

How do we know the model works? One answer lies in the fact that each stage includes certain objectives whose accomplishment constitutes a positive outcome for that stage. For instance, if participants understand that cultural and racial differences exist, Stage I has been at least partially successful. This can be discerned by discussions during which participants are "tested" on their understanding of this point, or one can be more formal and give a written quiz at the end of Stage I.

A four-part evaluation scheme is regularly used in evaluating the model: information, attitude change, outcome goals, and additional objective evidence. These fit the development of the model rather directly. In Stages I and II, and perhaps IV, information is the principal criterion. Do participants know that cultural and racial differences exist? Do they understand institutional racism? Do they understand the sources of their racial attitudes?

Stage III directly concerns attitude change. The SAS could be used as a

before-and-after measure of this stage, but often the point is made with the SAS, and verbal reports of understanding are used for evaluation. Chapman (1974) used questionnaires that assess the behavioral intentions of college student groups to do work relating to racism as evidence of the success of Stage II (How Racism Operates) and the SAS to assess readiness to approach Stage III (Examining Racial Attitudes).

The third type of evaluation, outcome goals, is the emphasis of the whole model and the specific goal of Stage V and VI. If clear goals are stated in Stage V, that stage has been successful. And if strategies are developed in Stage VI, it, too, has been successful. You must determine whether the goals are accomplished, which can be difficult to assess for several reasons. First, long-term goals take a long time to implement. Second, periodic follow-ups should be made on specific goals and strategies.

As of this writing, approximately 60 percent of the goals we have stated have been accomplished, at least in part. There is a study currently under way to determine this figure more exactly and to identify the reasons for lack of accomplishment.

A third difficulty is identifying the "spinoff" effects of a given strategy. For instance, after we accomplished our goal of developing a black parent advisory group in a secondary school, this group became a catalyst for the accomplishment of many other goals relating to racism. Thus, although we accomplished only one goal, its effects were far reaching. Quality, then, can be more critical than quantity. The accomplishment of only one critical goal can turn a school around. And again, it is the accomplishment of the goal that is important, not who gets credit for it.

The fourth type of evaluation - additional objective evidence- is almost a strategy for evaluating others. For instance, in evaluating a program that is run

by someone else, it is feasible to allow the presentation of objective evidence that was not included in the other types of evaluation. This might reduce the complaint that evaluation procedure excludes pertinent evidence. Hedman and Magoon (1977), who studied an overall evaluation of the model in an experimental study, compared two versions of the model (with student teachers at the university level) to a control group. One version represented discussion and interaction, as described in this article, and the other involved an edited version of an audiotape (Sedlacek, 1974) and limited discussion. They found no differences between the experimental and control groups: both groups interacted negatively with black students.

Sedlacek, Troy and Chapman (1976), who demonstrated the efficacy of the model with university freshmen in orientation programs, found that the students were able to work through the model and devise goals and strategies that they could use as students on campus.

Conference Evaluation

Participants completed an evaluation form at the conferences or mailed it in later. The first question asked was, "What was the best thing about the conference?" The most common responses were getting to know others in the system, talking about real or "gut" issues and getting things out in the open, rotating the consultants, learning about racism, learning about black views, and the quality of a consultant or consultants. A variety of items were mentioned less often, including the format of the conference and the openness of participants.

In response to the questions, "What was the worst thing about the conference?" responses were more scattered, with lack of specific and practical issues, and disappointment in the closedmindedness of fellow workers mentioned most often. The consultants "preaching" or being negative rather than discussing, and the SAS were also mentioned. Other responses were widely scattered.

Responses to the question, "What do you feel differently about after the conference?" were: a better understanding of racism, a better understanding of blacks, feeling we can work together, feeling frustrated and incompetent, and feeling there is more racism in the system than we thought. Other responses were scattered.

Responses to the question, "What will you do differently after the conference?" were: work to understand and identify racism more, work on improving race relations, be more aware, work with teachers more, influence decision makers, and meet with colleagues. Other responses were scattered.

As one looks back on the conferences, they were obviously a mixed bag. There was great heterogeneity among the participants, with some eager to learn and change, and other uninterested, uninvolved, and unwilling. Clearly, many participants were bothered by the content, frustrated, and less sure of themselves. This was to be expected, and in a sense, is a prerequisite to possible change. There is no way that individuals or a school system are going to change regarding racism and race relations in a comfortable way. The roots of racism run deep and have had many years to develop a comfortable atmosphere about them. If people are pleased and feel good after a conference on race relations, it means one of two things: either the issues were avoided completely, or the participants did not need the training. Change always involves some risk and discomfort. The consultants attempted to confront issues with a minimum of discomfort of participants, to stimulate, educate and provide some tools for change. In order for a two-day intervention to have any realistic effect, the participants and the school system itself must pick up on what has been started in the conference. Without a strong commitment to a long range program, it is highly unlikely that anything will come of such conferences. Ultimately a conference must be judged by its long range effects. The long range effects of these par-

ticular conferences have yet to come to pass, although the large system is in the midst of initiating a massive race relations training package, including activities and projects for teachers, students, bus drivers, cafeteria workers, parents and community residents, etc. The smaller system has established a black student-parent advisory group and begun more intensive race relations training for teachers in several schools.

The reader is reminded that the model is dynamic and changing, and that many potential strategies and variations are possible. Each time the model is used it is modified somewhat. However, at the present time, the basic approach discussed above seems to work in a variety of settings and under various conditions. The writers invite comments and criticism and are particularly interested in learning of the experiences of others with this and other models.

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TABLE 1

Instructions and Situations from the Situational Attitude Scale*

INSTRUCTIONS

This questionnaire measures how people think and feel about a number of social and personal incidents and situations. It is not a test so there are no right or wrong answers. The questionnaire is anonymous so please DO NOT SIGN YOUR NAME.

Each item or situation is followed by 10 descriptive word scales. Your task is to select, for each descriptive scale, the rating which best describes YOUR feelings toward the item.

Sample item: Going out on a date

happy ' A ' B ' C ' D ' E ' sad

You would indicate the direction and extent of your feelings (e.g., you might select B) by indicating your choice (B) on your response sheet by blackening in the appropriate space for that word scale. DO NOT MARK ON THE BOOKLET. PLEASE RESPOND TO ALL WORD SCALES.

Sometimes you may feel as though you had the same item before on the questionnaire. This will not be the case, so DO NOT LOOK BACK AND FORTH through the items. Do not try to remember how you checked similar items earlier in the questionnaire. MAKE EACH ITEM A SEPARATE AND INDEPENDENT JUDGMENT. Respond as honestly as possible without puzzling over individual items. Respond with your first impressions whenever possible.

SITUATIONS

	FORM A	FORM B
I.	A new family moves in next door to you.	A new black family moves in next door to you.
II.	You read in the paper that a man has raped a woman.	You read in the paper that a black man has raped a white woman.
III.	It is evening and a man appears at your door saying he is selling magazines.	It is evening and a black man appears at your door saying he is selling magazines.
IV.	You are walking down the street alone and must pass a corner where a group of five young men are loitering.	You are walking down the street alone and must pass a corner where a group of five your black men are loitering.
V.	Your best friend has just become engaged.	Your best friend has just become engaged to a black person.
VI.	You are stopped for speeding by a policeman.	You are stopped for speeding by a black policeman.
VII.	A new person joins your social group.	A new black person joins your social group.
VIII.	You see a youngster steal something in a dimestore.	You see a black youngster steal something in a dimestore.
IX.	Some students on campus stage a demonstration.	Some black students on campus stage a demonstration.
X.	You get on a bus and you are the only person who has to stand.	You get on a bus that has all black people aboard and you are the only person who has to stand.

*The Situational Attitude Scale is copyrighted and available from Natresources, Inc., 520 N. Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60611.